

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PEKING 00947 01 OF 02 100152Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
OMB-01 HA-05 TRSE-00 /072 W
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P R 100120Z APR 78
FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0358
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PEKING 0947

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT CH SHUM
SUBJ: TIEN AN MEN INCIDENT ANNIVERSARY: ANTI-WU TEH SENTIMENT GROWS

REF: PEKING 939

1. THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1976 TIEN AN MEN INCIDENT HAS INCREASINGLY TAKEN ON THE COMPLEXION OF A POPULAR MOVEMENT AGAINST PEKING PARTY FIRST SECRETARY WU TEH. EMPLOYING CARICATURES, PUNS AND DETAILED ALLEGATIONS OF COVER-UP AND ARBITRARY ACTIONS, A NUMBER OF POSTER WRITERS HAVE DEVELOPED THE ANTI-WU CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED BY THE 150TH MIDDLE SCHOOL TEACHER (REFTEL).

2. THE MOST DAMNING POSTER TO DATE IS ENTITLED "CAN IT BE COVERED UP" -- A CLEVER PUNNING DEVICE EMPLOYING THE CHARACTER "WU" ("TO COVER UP") USED IN THE PEOPLE'S DAILY ARTICLE ON THE "COVER-UP FACTION" WHICH IS HOMONYMOUS WITH WU'S NAME. THE FOUR-PAGE POSTER, PUT UP ON CHANG AN STREET NEAR THE MINISTRY OF POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS, LEAVES LITTLE
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PAGE 02 PEKING 00947 01 OF 02 100152Z

DOUBT THAT WU TEH IS THE TARGET. NOTING THAT FORMER PRACTITIONERS OF THE COVER-UP IN KANSU, ANHWEI AND HEILUNGKIANG (SPECIFYING BY NAME FIRST PARTY SECRETARIES HSIEN HENG-HAN, SUNG PEI-CHANG, AND LIU KUANG-TAO) HAD BEEN EXPOSED AND BROUGHT DOWN, THE AUTHOR ASKS THE READER TO REFLECT ON THE SLOW PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-GANG OF FOUR CAMPAIGN IN PEKING, TO RECALL THAT "PERSONS WHO EXPRESSED

THEIR OPINIONS ABOUT FIRST SECRETARY WU TEH" DURING THE JANUARY 1977 DEMONSTRATIONS AT TIEN AN MEN SQUARE HAD BEEN PLACED UNDER ARREST UNTIL SHORTLY BEFORE THE AUGUST CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING, AND TO DRAW THEIR OWN CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE ORIENTATION OF THE LEADING RESPONSIBLE PERSON IN PEKING.

3. ALSO POSTED -- WITHOUT COMMENT -- ALONG THE SAME WALL AT CHANG AN STREET IS THE NCNA TEXT OF WU TEH'S SPEECH TO DISPERSE WHICH HE READ TO THE DEMONSTRATORS AT TIEN AN MEN SQUARE IN APRIL 1976. MORE THAN ANY OTHER SINGLE ACTION TAKEN BY WU TEH, THAT BRIEF SPEECH IDENTIFIED HIM INDELIBLY IN THE PUBLIC MIND WITH THOSE SUPPORTING THE GANG OF FOUR IN OPPOSITION TO TENG HSIAO-PING AND IN OPPOSITION TO HONORING THE MEMORY OF CHOU EN-LAI.

4. AT THE BASE OF THE TIEN AN MEN SQUARE MARTYR'S MONUMENT FACING THE HISTORICAL MUSEUM A CARICATURE OF WU TEH POSTED ON APRIL 9 POKES FUN AT HIM FOR HIS GROWING REPUTATION AS THE CONSUMMATE PRACTITIONER OF THE OPPORTUNISTIC SHIFT IN LINE. EMPLOYING A DOUBLE PUN IN THE TITLE (WHICH TO THE KNOWING COMES OUT SOMETHING LIKE "WU TEH'S THEOREM," A PLAY ON GOLDBACK'S THEOREM WHICH HAS RECENTLY BEEN PUBLICIZED IN THE CHINESE PRESS OWING TO A CREATIVE SOLUTION BY A YOUNG CHINESE MATHEMATICIAN), THE POSTER OFFERS THE FOLLOWING "MATHEMATICAL FORMULA": "LEANING TO THE LEFT" PLUS "LEANING TO THE RIGHT" CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PEKING 00947 01 OF 02 100152Z

QUALS "NOT BEING KNOCKED DOWN?" BENEATH THE FORMULA THIS THOUGHT IS RENDERED PICTORIALY BY WU TEH'S BENIGN FEATURES ATOP THE CHILDREN'S TOY WHICH CANNOT BE KNOCKED OVER, FIRST LEANING LEFTWARD, THE RIGHTWARD, AND ULTIMATELY SMUGLY ERECT. CURRENTLY THE PRIME ATTRACTION IN TIEN AN MEN SQUARE, THIS POSTER ELICITED CHUCKLES AND SPIRITED AFFIRMATIONS OF ITS ACCURATE RENDERING OF POLITICAL REALITIES IN THE CAPITAL.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 PEKING 00947 02 OF 02 100227Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PEKING 0947

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

5. ANOTHER NEW POSTER, PRESUMABLY PUT UP BY AN OUT-OF-TOWNER HAILING FROM LIAONING, SIMPLY RELATED AN APRIL 26, 1976 SENTENCE PASSED BY THE MIDDLE COURT OF CHINCHOW MUNICIPALITY, LIAONING. THE CASE INVOLVED ONE CHENG CHUNG, A MAN AGED 35, WHO ALLEGEDLY "JUMPED FORTH" FOLLOWING THE APRIL 1976 TIEN AN MEN DEMONSTRATIONS IN PEKING TO PROCLAIM THAT TENG HSIAO-PING HAD BEEN WRONGED. FOR HIS SABOTAGE OF THE VICTORIOUS STRUGGLE AGAINST THE "RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND OF VERDICT REVERSAL" AND THE "LEADING CAPITALIST ROADER" (I.E. TENG HSIAO-PING), CHENG WAS SENTENCED TO 15 YEARS IN PRISON BEGINNING APRIL 18, 1976. IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE ONE-PAGE ACCOUNT OF THE CASE AND SENTENCE THE AUTHOR OF THE POSTER TERSELY NOTED "THIS PERSON HAS STILL NOT BEEN RELEASED." IN ADDITION TO APPEALING ABOVE THE HEADS OF THE LIAONING AUTHORITIES FOR REDRESS OF AN INJUSTICE, THE AUTHOR OF THE POSTER UNDOUBTEDLY INTENDED TO RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP IN LIAONING -- WHICH HAS BEEN UNDER OBLIQUE ATTACK IN THE CENTRAL MEDIA FOR THE LAST COUPLE OF WEEKS.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 PEKING 00947 02 OF 02 100227Z

6. THAT PEKING BOSS WU TEH CAN BE CRITICIZED PUBLICLY WITH IMPUNITY HAS BECOME EVIDENT TO PEKING'S CITIZENS OVER THE PAST WEEK. JUDGING FROM THE VOCAL APPROVAL GIVEN BY ONLOOKERS TO HARSH QUESTIONS ABOUT WU TEH'S PAST AND PRESENT POLITICAL STANCE, WU'S ULTIMATE REMOVAL IS REGARDED BY MANY AS A NEAR CERTAINTY.

7. BUT WU TEH HAS SURVIVED SIMILAR (ALBEIT SLIGHTLY LESS PUBLIC AND MORE MUTED) CAMPAIGNS AGAINST HIM IN THE PAST, AND SPECIFIC NEW ALLEGATIONS HAVE NOT BEEN MADE AGAINST HIM. CHINESE LEADERS TACITLY SUPPORTING THE CURRENT POSTER CAMPAIGN AGAINST HIM ARE AGAIN ENRAGED IN A WAR OF NERVES; PRESUMABLY THEY HOPE THAT WU'S BACKERS IN THE POLITBURO WILL REGARD HIM AS A SERIOUS LIABILITY AND THROW HIM TO THE WOLVES IN THE FACE OF

CONTINUING EVIDENCE OF HIS UNPOPULARITY. AT PRESENT THIS DOES
NOT SEEM LIKELY TO OCCUR. TOO MANY OTHERS -- INCLUDING
CHAIRMAN HUA HIMSELF -- HAVE COMMITTED POLITICAL SINS NOT
DISSIMILAR TO THOSE ASCRIBED TO WU AND WILL BE RELUCTANT TO
ISOLATE THEMSELVES BY SACRIFICING HIM TO THE NOT-
ENTIRELY-SPONTANEOUS POPULAR CAMPAIGN AGAINST HIM.
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